[For information on the omda, the administrative head of the rural village, see Category 622.]

342 costs to make or buy. In the 'izba sector, most of the Bedouin have a summer tent which they place next to their stone house for the hot months. According to the governmental community [657] development program, in order to own land and register it properly one must build at least one room upon it. The one- [935] room house (daar) is not common in al-Qasr: it is a symbol of poverty. The multi-roomed house (duwaar) is common. It is [333] built of large pieces of cut sandstone which are quarried in [316] al-Qasr. Those who can afford it build the duwaar and surround 342 it with a wall in compound fashion. Only one man in al-Qasr 556 is rich enough to afford two of these compound-type houses. The size and style of a house reflect status. Traditionally, [184] a man furnished a tent for each wife and for each married son. Although this is still the custom in parts of the desert, in al-Qasr the private room (daar) in a duwaar has replaced the private tent.

596 The basic residential unit is called naja' (literally, "hamlet"). It is composed of the father, his wife (wives), his unmarried children, and married sons and their families. The naja' takes the name of the father who is called the shaib ("elder," literally, "white-haired one") of the group. In the naja', the word of the shaib is law, and the members' chief duty is unquestionable obedience. The average naja' in al-Qasr consists of about three or four houses or tents.

*613 423 182 241 [312] in farming, and he found this land "good for raising mint and vegetables." To the southeast of the 'izba, the lineages of Lazumi and Ma'fas found the land suitable for barley and grazing. This area is rain-fed. There are no wells and so vegetable crops are not possible here. The members of these lineages say that their ancestors were "real" Bedouins in Cyrenaica, and did not wish to become farmers in Egypt. It *613 182 •184 241 is interesting to note that the Lazumi and Ma'fas are the richest lineages in all of al-Qasr. They were, perhaps, better able to maintain the traditional style of life which all of the Bedouins claim is "the best." But all Bedouins of al-Qasr depend to some degree upon horticulture or arboriculture. [231] And most families own a few sheep or goats. Both Lazumi and Ma'fas garden in their coastal sections, and Shraif members own sheep.

656 423 Land registration has a history in the Western Desert. The government attempted it a number of times, but with little success until 1959 when the General Desert Development Organization (GDDO) undertook its program of land reclamation. But the 361 342 178 Bedouins were settled long before this. In al-Qasr, the Bedouins began to erect permanent stone dwellings on the land about the time of the First World War. In the Matruh area, elder informants agree that before 1914 the Bedouins lived in tents outside the 361 648 town area. When the British came, they began to move into town. Many of the Bedouins built houses in Matruh between the years

423 society. Private ownership of land with sovereign rights
* [613] over it is now the normal practice in al-Qasr. Rights are
[178] held by the family head, the shaib. If the family head is
[596] deceased, land tenure rights are held jointly by the sons.

In the area beyond the plateau, in the extreme
* [184] south of al-Qasr, land rights to grazing and water still are
* [613] associated with lineages. But here agriculture is impossible.
[241] The type of rights over the land varies with the method by
which it is exploited. The southern and coastal sections of
[433] al-Qasr represent the old and the new, the pastoral traditional
mode of production and the modern agricultural cash economy.
[233] But, as noted, of the total population only a few Bedouins
are actually engaged in pastoralist activities. Hence, tribal
tenure rights, in general, are not overly important at this
time. Not too long ago they were, and many cases in the recent
[671] history of Bedouin customary law relate to conflicts over land
and water in the southern region. The Bedouins say that
[178] traditionally no lineage could use the pasturage or water of
* [613] another without some agreement, usually of long standing,
[233] made beforehand. Now, they say, permission is not needed.
[675] In the old days, these agreements were made between lineage
representatives, not individuals per se. Today, the grass
178 and water in the southern zone are claimed, though not in a
423 legal sense, by the families using them: the rights of
usufruct over the land are closer to rights of sovereignty

178 than they were in the past. These conditions reflect a change
423 in social and authority relations.

423 In the 'izba sector of al-Qasr, as of 1964, there were
432 two cases of land purchase. In one case, land was sold to an Egyptian, "an outsider" from the Nile Valley. This, of course, could only occur where such a transaction would be upheld by
423 the Egyptian government. Land ownership, when it involves registered land, is absolute. This, to a great extent, works
*[613] to lessen the influence of the lineage structure on property
423 relations. The law governing property, whether in traditional
178 or modern al-Qasr, reflects a set of social relationships.
571 When an individual can own property in the absolute sense, rather than with respect to his being a member of a group which enjoys sovereign rights of ownership, then, there has been a change in traditional corporate relations (Herskovits
•[184] 1952:260). This has definitely been the case for most of al-Qasr, and it is adumbrated in the southern sector where a person's rights over land are nearly absolute. A compar-
423 ison of land tenure patterns on the coast and in the southern
184 region reflect not only the contrast between methods of land use, but, also the fact that as land becomes valuable it becomes scarce and land holdings become fragmented (compare Figures 5 and 6).

428 When the head of a household dies, his eldest son
596 inherits his authority, but all of the sons share equally in

593 be kept with the father's flock. Only in the case of a
[591] man's owning, or using, a large piece of land in the pasture area of al-Qasr will his son live away from the main part of the naja', i.e., away from his father's tent. The son then serves as his father's shepherd.

593 In the 'izba sector of al-Qasr, the pattern is gener-
591 ally the same except that the son will be given a room in
184 the house rather than a tent when he marries. Since the land in this area is more scarce and a matter of official ownership, the son is not likely to have his own house during his father's lifetime.

593 When the son does marry, the marriage proceedings may
584 be initiated by either the son or the father. But, under no circumstances that I heard of, would the son approach the father with the idea of his marriage; the son should communicate his desire to marry, first of all, to either his father's brother or his mother's brother. As the Bedouins
593 say, "Marriage is an agreement between fathers." What they
584 mean is that marriage is an agreement between tertiary groups.
*613 A father upon hearing of his son's wish to marry, for the boy's uncle will immediately tell the father, consults with the head of his tertiary group about such a proposed marriage. This is not a formal procedure but, certainly, the father would not go ahead with the marriage without making the matter public. In other words, marriage in al-Qasr is a

554 of the Bedouin attitude, or lack of it, toward religion.
792 Since the time of Muhammad, the Bedouins have been considered
771 notoriously bad Muslims. Today, the Bedouins tend to joke
about their lack of zeal, and often point out that "holy
619 men" are not to be trusted.[2] This is seen in Sa'adi behavior
771 toward the Marabtin tribes who are their vassals. Theoretically,
792 the Marabtin who trace descent to the Prophet and might be
554 considered "sacred Tribes" should be respected by the "secular"
[778] Sa'adi tribes. But the Sa'adi of al-Qasr tend to deride the
554 Marabit. For instance, the "holy man" of al-Qasr, 'Amm Salih,
792 is a Marabit and well-known for his ability to successfully
627 mediate in conflict situations. But one informant, pointing
619 out this gift which 'Amm Salih possesses, said: "Amm Salih
is a good man, he is not a Marabit." But 'Amm Salih identifies
himself as a "rajal saalih" and a "Marabit"; he sees no role
conflict here.

771 The Bedouins also joke about the manner in which they
[522] practice the "pillars of Islam." Especially, they make light
of the fact that they are irregular in mosque attendance.
They say, with a slight smile, "we pray in the desert." A
[124] common way for an interview to end was by an informant rising
and saying: "Now I must wash for prayers." This happened

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[184] [2]Professor Abou-Zeid also notes this trait in his study of the Bedouin near Sallum, on the Libyan border (1966:248).

554 792 627 *613 779 the disputants. As noted, the rajal saalih shares this right with the 'aqila. The rajal khair does not have recourse to this mechanism which amounts to divine approval of the binding decision of the "third party." 'Amm Salih in his discussion of the Bedouin moral code corroborated this point: "Any 'aqila can read the Fatiha. In this way, he and the two parties involved terminate the quarrel. This is a way to show that all agree on the settlement. Originally, only the rajal saalih did this, but now the 'awaaqil do it in all cases." It would be interesting to know if in Cyrenaica both roles perform this function or if it belongs only to the role of rajal salih.

554 184 629 792 *613 I cannot generalize concerning this role for the whole of the Western Desert. Sayyid al-Sanusi and 'Amm Salih seem to be special men. On the other hand, the 'aqila and the rajal khair are roles which we would expect to find all over the desert, and in Libya also. The 'aqila is the focus of institutionalized traditional authority structure, and the rajal khair and "status group" represent the power structure.

554 121 This attempt to differentiate between authority and power is essentially one which deals with the more general problem of leadership. Any study of the structure of authority must have reference to the notion of leadership. Role analysis seems the best method of dealing with leaders and their functions. Role analysis together with the conceptualization of institution as a process is an adequate way of dealing with the tendency

619 groups were expected to help. For these reasons the Sa'adi tribes com-
619 peted and even fought among themselves for the newcoming Murabiteen
721 groups which continued to migrate into the area, escaping the strong dominance of the Cyrenaica Bedouins..Many of the major tribal wars which occurred in the area before the turn of the century had as their major cause the competition over the Murabiteen.

619 As a vassal group the Murabiteen tribes are kept in an inferior
778 position. This inferiority has certain manifestation, the most obvious
184 of which is the deprivation of the Murabiteen of the right of "nazala"
682 or refuge. When a person is killed the killer and his kin unit seek re-
778 fuge at a neutral tribal segment, and for a period of twelve months they
613 are safe from the revenge of the victim's kin group. The victim's family
[671] cannot follow them to the refuge place, for to do this is to violate one of the basic principles of Awlad Ali law. The philosophy behind the rule of "nazala" is to give time for "the blood to cool off" as one of the informants described it. It also gives the host group a chance to start immediate negotiations with the victim's group to settle permanently the dispute. As soon as the murderer's group takes refuge, which is done either by moving along with their tents and flocks and settling in the locality of the host group or symbolically by having the head of the host group send one of his sons or male relatives to pitch his tent in the locality of the murderer's group, the head of the host group contacts the victim's group, informs them that he has been chosed by the murderer's group in accordance with the right of nazala, and asks for their permission to grant his protection to the murderer's group. To ask for the permission of the victim's group is a matter of formality since, by custom, they cannot refuse to grant this permission except on one single ground:

682 778 613 if the host group is genealogically close enough to the murderer's group as to be themselves part of the vengeance group. As soon as the permission is granted the head of the host group starts negotiations on behalf of the murderer. Since the basic reason for the nazala is to avoid the direct confrontation between the two opposing groups, the first task of the negotiations is to define which places and markets each group can go to during the year of the nazala. Once this has been agreed upon, the difficult task of settling the dispute begins. The success or failure of the negotiations depends on the skill of the negotiator and the weight his tribal segment has in the area. This makes it of extreme importance for the murderer to select the tribal segment which can affect such a settlement. In cases where the host group is not particularly powerful, the victim's group pretends to agree to a settlement in order to have the murderer and his group leave the locality of the host group and then takes revenge by killing the murderer. This cannot happen when the host group is powerful, since such an action would automatically make the host group enemies of the victim's group.

619 184 778 682 With very few exceptions which will be dealt with later, the right to offer refuge is limited to the Sa'adi tribes. No Murabiteen tribe can grant refuge to a murderer, although they themselve can seek refuge at a Sa'adi tribal segment if one of them is involved in murder.

619 184 [682] [582] Another less conspicuous manifestation of the inferior position of the Murabiteen relative to the Sa'adi is the fact that the bloodmoney for the Murabit is two-thirds that for the Sa'adi man. Also, until very recently, marriage of a Sa'adi to a member of the Murabiteen tribes was considered by the Sa'adi as a very poor choice and was discouraged.

619 184 178 582 In recent years this has changed, however. The increased importance of wealth in the recently introduced money economy relaxed the endogamous tendency that was characteristic of the Sa'adi tribes.

619 184 In discussing the position of the Murabiteen tribes it is worth noting that not all the Murabiteen tribes in the area occupy the same position. Some enjoy relatively higher positions than the others. Actually, there are two kinds of Murabiteen in the area: Mustaqillen (independent Murabiteen); and the dependent Murabiteen. The latter are further subdivided into Murabiteen bil-baraka (with the blessing); and Murabiteen bil-sadaqa (with the tribute). The only independent Murabiteen in the area is the Gemei'at tribe. These are the original settlers of the area. Because of their help to Awlad Ali against the Hanadi, the [173] latter were defeated and Awlad Ali were able to occupy the Western Desert. For their part the Gemei'at tribe was granted its independence by Awlad Ali and were given one-third of the total area as their homeland (watan). In theory, the Gemei'at tribe occupies the same position and has the same 619 184 778 682 rights as the Sa'adi tribes, including the right to offer their protection which is denied to all other client groups. In practice, however, this seems to be of no practical value. None of my informants could remember a single case in which a murderer has taken refuge at a segment of the Gemei'at tribe. The importance of the nazala is not merely to be 619 778 184 682 629 628 safe from the pursuit of the victim's group but rather to provide the mediators who undertake the crucial task of negotiation on behalf of the murderer and his gorup. It is the ability to settle the dispute on a permanent basis that offers the actual long-lasting protection, even after the time of the nazala expires. To be successful in his pursuit,

619 798 184 682 627 628 the negotiator has to have behind him the full weight of his tribal segment. Since the origin of the Gemei'at tribe as a Murabiteen tribe is well known, any negotiator has to rely almost entirely upon his own skill to affect any settlement; even if he is able to affect such a settlement, there is no guarantee that it will be permanent.

619 792 The Murabiteen bil-baraka and Murabiteen bil-sadaqa occupy the same position as vassal groups. The only difference between the two is that the first, the religious men, are much more respected than the latter. They are feared by the other tribes because of the belief that they have direct contact with the religious and spiritual world and can harm those who dare to offend them in one way or another. Because of this factor [627] and of their neutral position with regard to the rest of the tribes, they [628] play an important role in mediation and dispute settlement.

619 184 174 792 The origin of inferiority of the Murabiteen tribes in general is hard to account for. Kenneth (1925) believes that hundreds of years ago the Murabiteen were essentially the holymen. They learned to read and write the Qoraan and grouped themselves around the "zawias' which were the centers of learning and religion. While indulging in their religious practices their flocks ere grazed miles away in the open desert under the charge of the Sa'adi shepherds, who originally were the poor paid workers of the Murabiteen. These shepherds, living out in the open, were busy fighting away the raiders attempting to steal their flocks. As time passed the Sa'adi shepherds became not only tough fighters but also wealthy. This latter end was achieved partly as a result of successful raids on neighboring tribes. Later when the Sa'adi planned a large raid, they entrusted their flocks to the Murabiteen, who by that time had become dependent upon the Sa'adi for their protection from the raids of other tribes.

The picture was reversed then with the poor Sa'adi shepherds becoming the masters, acquiring great wealth and prestige because of their fighting ability, and the holymen becoming the shepherds and clients of the Sa'adi fighters. In the old inter-tribal wars, the Murabiteen stood a very limited chance so the Sa'adi tribes adopted them and in return for a yearly tribure guaranteed theprotection of the Murabiteen from external aggression.

As time passed, the main difference between the Sa'adi and Murabiteen tended to diminish. One or two outstanding Murabiteen tribes fought their own battles without seeking the protection of the Sa'adi and remained independent, while a few others rose up and fought on with the protector against a common foe (the case of the Gemei'at tribe is an example) and in return were emancipated from the stigma of serfdom and accepted by the Sa'adi as almost equals. Other Murabiteen tribes remained attached to their Sa'adi protector as client groups.

Ibn Khaldoun also saw the inferiority of the Murabiteen tribes as stemming from a mode of tribal relations adapted to inter-tribal warfare (1845).

## The Eila

The Eila represents the next level of tribal segmentation among the Awlad Ali. The Eila is the most important political unit. Although the Eila lacks any formally recognized leadership, its importance stems from the fact that it constitutes the vengeance group or Amar El-Dam (unity of the blood). This means that it bears a corporate responsibility for the actions of its members. Anyone of its members can be killed in vengence for a homocide committed by any other, and the duty of revenge for any

581 are necessary for the validation of the marriage contract. Modern
585 legal systems which took as their basis the Islamic law of marriage
671
675 and the family further required the registration of the marriage contract for the marriage to be legal.

584 The request and necessary response forming the marriage are sup-
585 posed to be carried on by the parties involved. However, if either the
429 groom or the bride is not of age, or is mentally unqualified, the trans-
593 action is carried on by his or her guardian, or "wakil." The wakil is the father, unless he is dead or an invalid, in which case the brothers
[604] become the wakils. If the person has no brothers, then the uncles be-
[184] come the wakil in the order stated. According to certain Sunni sects in Islam, a woman marrying for the first time is always represented by her wakil, even if she is of age. The assumption is that a woman who has never been married does not have the experience that enables her to enter into any kind of legally binding relationship such as marriage.

585 Following the original Islamic idea, marriage among Awlad Ali is
675 an oral agreement between the groom or his father and the guardian
593
429 (wakil) of the bride-to-be (her father, if alive, or her closest male
[604] kin in the following order: her brothers, her uncles, her grandfather).
585 A religious man is sometimes asked to perform the marriage, although it
792 is not required. Some persons might invite a member of the Murabiteen
[619] tribe or holy men to witness the marriage on the basis that his presence
[718] gives "baraka," or blessing, to the marriage. Before the application of
585 the State legal system to the area, marriage contracts were not regis-
656
197 tered. In recent years, however, and with the increased mobility of
[675] the tribal populations, more and more marriages are being registered in
[634] the administrative districts. Still, according to the unofficial estimates,

585 583 779 43 [178] [171] legal guardian and considered a bride price to compensate the father or the legal guardian of the bride. In earlier times the bride received none of the mahr, although she usually got a sadaq or bridal gift for herself. In Islamic Arabia, the mahr and the sadaq became indistinguishable and were given to the woman and took the form of a legal gift for affecting the marriage. The Koraan no longer contains the concept [178] of the purchase of the wife, and the mahr becomes a compensation which the woman has to claim in all cases. The Koraan demands a bridal gift for a legal marriage: "And give them whom ye have enjoyed their reward as a wedding gift" (Sura, iv. 24), and again, "And give the women their dowries voluntarily" (Sura, iv. 3). According to the Koraan, the mahr [586] remains the property of the wife and remains her own even if the marriage is dissolved by divorce. But although it took the form of a gift, the mahr remained in Islamic law a prerequisite for the legalization of the marriage. It is only upon the giving of the mahr that the marriage is considered valid. No marriage is legal, according to the Islamic law, unless that transfer of the mahr is affected. Mutual consent of the two parties to forfeit the mahr does not change that rule, and the marriage is considered void. According to Muslim jurisprudence, marriage 58 675 184 is a contract ('acd) made between the bridegroom and the bride or her wali or guardian. An essential element in that contract is the mahr. The jurists themselves are not sure about the nature of the mahr. Some regard it as practically a purchase money or as an equivalent ('iwad) for the possession of the woman and the rights over her, so it is like a price paid in a contract of sale; while other jurists see in the mahr a legal symbol, a mark of honor and a proper legal security of property for the woman.

583 [584] Among Awlad Ali the payment of the bridewealth signifies the completion of the marriage contract. The mahr is not paid to the woman but 583 178 to her father or closest male kin. Usually the mahr is paid in money. This, however, seems to be a recent phenomenon. Until the turn of the century, according to informants, the mahr was paid only in sheep and 583 178 goats. The practice is still followed by a number of tribal segments of Ali Ahmar who occupy the western most part of the area where pasture 184 is more abundant and reliable and where the permanent pasture of the green mountains of Cyrenaica is close by. Other tribal segments still insist that at least one-fourth of the mahr should be paid in livestock, but the majority of the people accept money. The main purpose of the 583 [584] [182] mahr among Awlad Ali is to legalize the marriage contract and to put emphasis on the reciprocal oblications that the marriage created between the two families of the bride and the groom. It also works as an insurance for good behavior on the part of both the husband and the wife. 583 593 586 If the husband mistreats his wife or fails to give her the rights legally hers by marriage, he risks the chance of losing the mahr and being forced to divorce her. On the other hand, if the wife fails to behave in the customary way expected from a wife, the husband could divorce her and have the right to get back his mahr. This is particularly inconvenient in cases where all or part of the mahr is paid in livestock, in which case it becomes part of the father's herd and hard to take away in case of divorce. It is therefore in the interest of her family to keep the marriage. In this way their interference in the marriage is checked. [591] [592] This is especially important among Awlad Ali where, although the marriage is usually patrilocal, the woman retains membership in her father's household even after marriage.

682 and unjustifiable homicide. To examine responsibility in homicide
672 among Awlad Ali and their definition of "intentional" and "non-
673 intentional" killing, let us first present some of the cases collected from the area.

CASE #1: The Case of the Broken Rope

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672
312
[184]
[428]

This is one of the classical cases which is told throughout the entire area. There is some slight variation in the way it is told, but all accounts refer to the fact that Hemeida from the 'Esheibat tribe inherited the right to use a large area of tribal land in which there was an old Roman well not used for a long period of time and which was full of sand. One day he invited the awaqil of his tribal segment, as well as his neighbors, to consult them on how to clear the well, since without it the land was almost useless. They all decided it was a good idea and offered their help. On the day the well was to be cleared, they all gathered around the well. Among those present was Do'ah, a poor member of the 'Esheibat tribe who worked as a paid shepherd for Hemeida. He was watching from a distance when Hemeida called upon him to give a hand. The well, like all Roman wells in the area, is about fifty feet deep and fifteen feet in diameter, and narrows as one goes down the well. To be cleared, someone has to be lowered by a rope to the bottom of the well to dig up the sand. Hemeida's cousin, Ali, agreed to go down, and the gathering looked for a sturdy rope which they found at one of Hemeida's neighbors. As the group was tying Ali to the rope, Hemeida suggested that Ali was too heavy for the rope and that it would be a good idea if a slimmer man did the job. At this point, everybody looked at Do'ah, since he was the thinnest

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi



day, but even ethnically the Bedouin are more Arabian than the people of Egypt, the Sudan, and Tripolitania, while culturally they are as completely Arab as any people in the world, proud Tamim and Quraish not excepted. In essentials their language is that of the Hilalian invasion of the eleventh century and no foreign language competes with it. The Berber-speakers are a handful in the distant oasis of Aujila, and even there they are bilingual, and the insignificant fractions of Jews and Cretans in the towns speak Arabic, the Cretans being Muslims as well. The Italian immigrants left the country of their own accord during the late war. Thus the obstacles to complete Arabization in the Maghrib (Tripolitania, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco), a Berber culture, large Jewish colonies, and European colonization are to-day all absent in Cyrenaica. In all essential matters also the Bedouin of Cyrenaica are like Bedouin tribesmen elsewhere in the Arab world: they have the same tented, pastoral, way of life, the same social organization, the same laws and customs and manners, and the same values.

The people of Cyrenaica are linked to the classical Arab world of the east, to Egypt and the Jazirat al-'Arab (Arabia, Palestine, Iraq, and Syria) rather than to the Maghrib; to the sacred towns of Islam and to Umayyad Damascus, 'Abbasid Baghdad, and Fatimid Cairo. More particularly they are linked to Egypt, with which their country has had political ties from the earliest times, and which is their natural market. The desert comes down to the sea at the Gulf of Sirte and separates Cyrenaica from Tripolitania and these two countries have always gone each its own way. Cyrenaica was linked to Graeco-Egypt, Tripolitania to Phoenician Carthage. Cyrenaica went with Byzantium, Tripolitania with Rome. Indeed, as Despois says: 'The Greater Syrtis is without dispute one of the most decided frontiers, natural and human, to be found anywhere in the world.'[1]

During the last few decades this separation has been brought into relief again by the rise of the Sanusiya Order, for whereas almost to a man the Cyrenaicans follow the Order politically, the Tripolitanians, except for the Bedouin tribes, have shown a lively animosity towards it. Moreover tribal ties between the

[1] Op. cit., p. 45.

5: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1967 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Cyrenaica



sections constituting the combinations which makes the facts of feud intelligible. Furthermore, several different types of power structures exist which serve the different interests of the people composing them, and these are interlinked in combinations of superior span. But the formation of these structures and the modes in which they combine are quite unlike the articulations in a lineage system. Characteristically, the segments in a lineage system are conceived of as building up hierarchically to span what is spoken of as a total society, the apex of the system affording a spectacular and fixed definition of its boundaries. Had I been using this concept in this paper the founding ancestress of the nine Cyrenaican tribes, Sa'ada as named by the Bedouin, would have served this purpose and would have been given inappropriate prominence. The views presented here have the consequences of retreating from a concept of a total society. The people to whom the facts given are related are the camel-herding tribes only. Some of them have relations of many kinds with the cow-herding folk who inhabit the northern plateau area, and these relations are also significant for the analysis of a wide range of problems; genealogically both cow and camel herders are seen as part of a single structure, but the differences between them with regard to their economy, the size, composition, and distribution of their residential units, their political and ritual life is so great that to conceive of them as a single social structure is not useful. Moreover, the far western tribal sections have relationships of such urgency with their neighbours in Tripolitania (who are excluded from Cyrenaican genealogies) that to cut off these relationships as lying outside Cyrenaican society would be quite unwarranted. The same can be said of the relationships of the tribal sections in the eastern part of Cyrenaica with their genealogical cousins, the Aulad 'Ali of Egypt, who, although residing across a national border, are closely linked to some of the Cyrenaican Bedouin. Some tribes also have to rely on the people of the southern oases for an item of diet and an outlet for surplus wool, and the net of kinship is spread out to include them. In these cases they come into contact with other ethnic groups such as Berbers and Tibu, and through the oases they extend their lines of communication southwards to Wadai, Chad, and Bornu. As an indication of the effectiveness of these links, it is only necessary to add that people inhabiting Cyrenaica make periodic and regular visits to these far southern places, and that in 1948 a shaikh, living near Ajadabiya in south-western Cyrenaica, collected blood-money contributions from kinsmen in Wadai. A single structure cannot possibly include, for analytical purposes, these sorts of relationships.

Finally, it must be stressed that the facts given here refer to the period 1948 to 1950. Since then oil has been discovered in large quantities near the territory of a tribe where I spent most of my time while resident in the country, and where there was one tin shack in 1950 there is now a modern port with roads extending southwards from it into the wilderness. I see no reason to assume that social relations as I observed them are present today or that they were the same at any time in the past either. Before the advent of the Sanusi Order in the early eighteen-forties, it is known that one lineage at least was dominantly powerful and that its leader tyrannized a large part of Central Cyrenaica.[1] His descendants constituted a powerful group in

[1] Smith and Porcher, 1864. These two archaeologists met this leader and continued their archaeological researches around Cirene only with his goodwill, although the site is not on the territory of his tribe as I knew it in 1950. They also speak of him as inhabiting a castle which also lies outside the